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# The Soviet shakeup: how it came about, what it may mean

By Kumar Goshal

REPERCUSSIONS of the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party last week reached the top ranks of the party. On July 3 Moscow announced the ouster of three veteran Bolsheviks and one relative newcomer from the party's Presidium and Central Committee.

The announcement said that in meetings from June 22-29 the plenum of the CP Central Committee "considered the question of the anti-party group of [Georgi] Malenkov, [Lazar] Kaganovich and [Vyacheslav] Molotov," which was "seeking to change the party's political line [and] the composition of the party's leading bodies." Former Foreign Minister Dmitri Shepilov was accused of joining them in the "fractionary struggle."

**THE CHARGES:** Among other things, the four were accused of opposing (1) the new Soviet "nationalities policy," granting greater economic, cultural and legislative powers to member republics; (2) the "policy of peaceful coexistence" and relaxation of international tensions; (3) "the reorganization of industrial management," extending greater autonomy to regional planners and producers; (4) "increased material incentives" for collective farmers—such as abolition of "obligatory deliveries of farm produce . . . from their individual plots"—in expanding agricultural output; (5) the appeal "to overtake the U. S. in the next few years in per capita output of milk, butter and meat"; (6) "measures to improve relations between the U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia"; (7) the party's fundamental proposition "on the possibility of different ways of transition to socialism in different countries, on the necessity of strengthening contacts between the Soviet party and progressive parties abroad [and] establishing personal contacts between the Soviet leaders and the statesmen of other countries, which is essential for the achievement of mutual understanding and better international relations."

**THE NEW LINEUP:** The four were called "sectarian and dogmatic," and were accused of using a "scholastic, inert approach to Marxism-Leninism" because they "were and still are shackled by old notions and methods" which led them to resort to "methods of intrigue."

The bulk of the accusation was at first heaped on Molotov. Kaganovich was said to have supported him "on many of the above points" and Malenkov "in a number of cases." Shepilov was referred to as being one "who joined them." Later the attack shifted to Malenkov. Shepilov was removed from his post of secretary to the Central Committee and membership in it, and dropped as an alternate mem-

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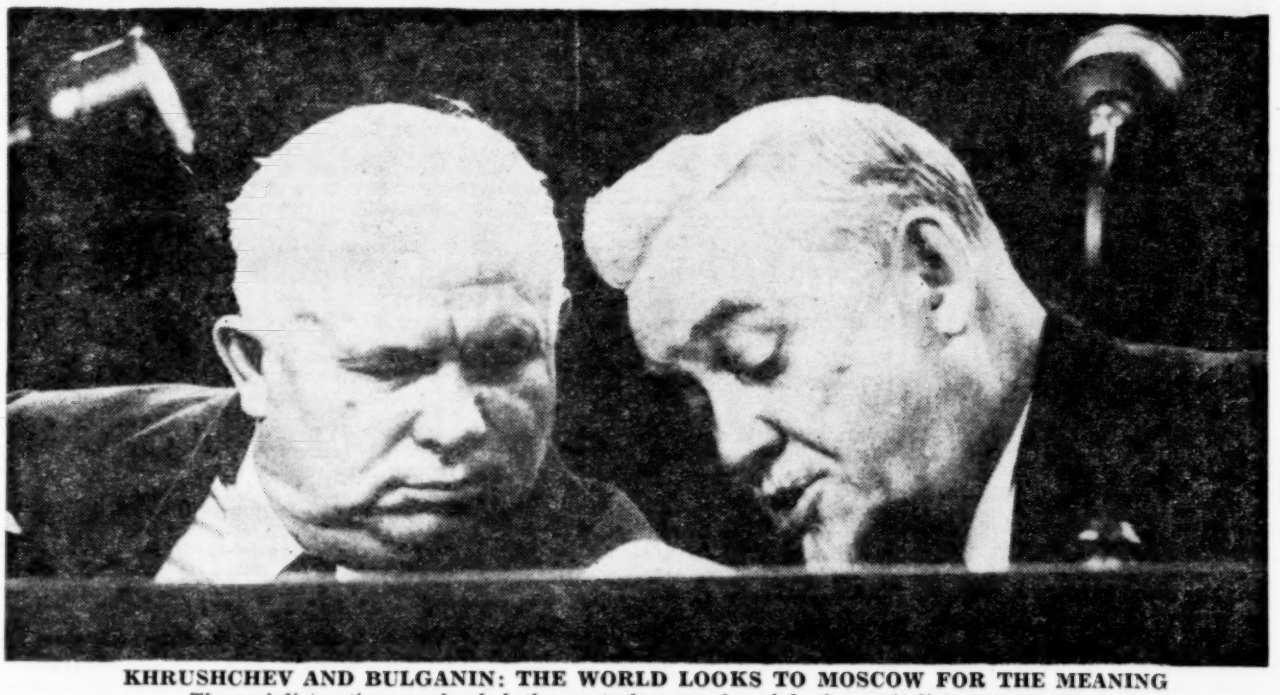

KHRUSHCHEV AND BULGANIN: THE WORLD LOOKS TO MOSCOW FOR THE MEANING
*The socialist nations applauded; the neutrals were hopeful; the capitalists were cynical*

MAY CLASH WITH FILIBUSTER

# Move to curb High Court runs into Congress snag

By Lawrence Emery

AN ADMINISTRATION-BACKED bill to modify the Supreme Court decision in the Jencks case was rushed to the Senate floor on July 3 marked "Urgent—Rush" by the Dept. of Justice. For a time it looked as though it would romp through to passage with the same speed that the Senate Judiciary Committee approved it.

But Sen. Wayne Morse (D.-Ore.) slowed it up with an amendment and a caution that the measure needed careful study. He won a delay until the week of July 8—when the bill may collide with a Dixiecrat filibuster against civil rights which could postpone Senate action on the court bill indefinitely.

The Supreme Court ruling held that if the government puts an informer on the witness stand, it must make available to the defense that informer's reports to government investigative agencies bearing on his testimony. The high court ruled specifically that the defense alone could properly judge the relevancy of any such material to its case.

**PUTS IT UP TO JUDGE:** The Administration-backed bill would change this decision in two vital ways: it would authorize the trial judge, not the defense, to decide what was relevant, and it would make available to the trial court only those pertinent reports "signed . . . or otherwise approved as correct."

Sen. Morse pointed out that most informers never see or sign or approve the summary of their interviews with the FBI or other agencies. He also argued that since the Court was so explicit about the trial judges' lack of authority in deciding relevancy, the Administration bill would most likely be declared unconstitutional. His amendment would compel the government to make available any record containing the substance of oral or written statements of informers whether signed or not.

**PROBE OF THE COURT:** A bill identical to the Senate measure was on the House floor after unanimous approval by the House Judiciary Committee. The Administration measure was approved over a much more stringent bill introduced the day after the Supreme Court ruling by Rep. Francis E. Walter (D.-Pa.), chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. In addition, the House Judiciary Committee established a special subcommittee to review all Supreme Court decisions handed down in this term in these three fields: "the power of Congress to investigate; Federal laws relating to subversive activities; and enforcement of Federal criminal laws."

The review was called "a matter of the highest urgency" and the subcommittee was directed to make findings and recommendations, "legislative or otherwise," as soon as possible. The subcommittee consists of Reps. Edwin E. Willis (D.-La.), Byron G. Rogers (D.-Colo.), Earl Chudoff (D.-Pa.), William C. Cramer (R.-Fla.), and Arch A. Moore Jr. (R.-W. Va.).

**MORE TO COME:** In the Senate, Styles Bridges (N.H.), chairman of the Senate Republican Policy Committee, hinted that there will be further legislative attacks against "this ultra-liberal, politically-motivated Court." He said the Administration measure against the Jencks

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REPORT TO READERS

# The time is now for survival

AS THE NEWS FROM THE SOVIET UNION broke on the eve of the Fourth of July (the radio bulletins alternated with pleas to Americans to stop killing each other on the holiday highways) and the experts turned swiftly to their typewriters, perhaps the most cynical view of all was reported by James Reston from Washington in the N. Y. **Times**, July 5. He wrote:

"Today's developments in Moscow, coming on top of a noisy debate in Peiping over ideological questions, were expected to strengthen those who have contended that the thing to do was to keep the pressure on, not to grow weary of the long struggle, not to make risky concessions to Moscow or Peiping . . . but to plod along and allow the contradictions in the Communist world to weaken the whole Communist empire."

This is the Dulles view: socialism is a passing phase; the core of U. S. policy is the liberation of the people of the socialist countries (more than one-third of the world). This means more cold war, more Bomb tests, more arms for tinder-box areas, more danger in the Middle East, more bombast, hatred, hypocrisy and death.

TIME, GENTLEMEN, PLEASE! In Lindau, Germany, on July 5, Prof. Otto Hahn, Nobel Prize winner and the first man to split the uranium atom, said that in an atomic war "life will stop completely. Not one per cent of humanity will survive. Nobody will survive."

Humanity means all of us, including Dulles. Except when a man like Hahn introduces it (3 inches on p. 36 of the **Times**), the human element does not often appear in the hostile exchanges between East and West, in the bitter diatribes in the Middle East, in the rigid interpretations of Hungary. We should like, therefore, perhaps in inexpert fashion, to draw a first conclusion from the events of last week in the Soviet Union—in the interest of the hu-

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# THE MAIL BAG

### SANE, Inc.

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.

We have formed a Society to Abolish Nuclear Explosions. If the full name sounds forbidding, just call us "SANE." That is what our lapel buttons say. SANE has just incorporated under the laws of California. Now we want to be put in touch with other people across the nation who feel with us (and with a mounting list of scientists) that to continue the tests is folly.

Our pioneer non-political group includes physicians, attorneys, accountants, teachers, housewives, parents and veterans. All of us agree that "if you are not in SANE, you are insane." We will be glad to send a set of 10 or more buttons, for 10c per button, to anyone writing SANE, P.O. Box 3236, San Diego 3, Calif.

**Helen Lustig**, Secretary

### Two-way logic

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

I should like to point out a connection between bomb tests and peaceful use of atomic energy that seems to have been overlooked by most commentators.

The oceans of air are now becoming contaminated. Any increase in radiation is harmful. Therefore, any single bomb test not only increases the danger to humans but lessens by that much the amount of energy that can be used peacefully, especially as it is difficult to dispose of wastes safely.

Our margin of "safety" is being dissipated by all countries testing bombs in irresponsible fashion with total disregard for the people of the world and their need for its peaceful use. There will be no possibility of peaceful use of atoms if the tests continue. The margin of safety will have been lost and our children will be left to pay the price of the "dirty" bombs.

**Name Withheld**

### Keep it clean

NEW YORK, N.Y.

For those who like their atoms split in comfort, "the best base for bomb-viewing expeditions is Las Vegas, which has a couple of hundred motels and hotels of all types, with fairly standard rates." Since some sports-lovers are not as intrepid as others, "a perennial question from people who do not like pre-dawn expeditions is whether the explosions can be seen from Las Vegas, 65 miles away. The answer is that sometimes enough of a flash is visible to permit a person to say he has 'seen an atomic bomb'." But for the true aficionado, "it is not the same as viewing one from relatively close range, which generally is a breath-taking experience." (Quotes from **N. Y. Times**, 6/9/57.)

### *How Crazy Can You Get Dept.*

WASHINGTON (AP)—The choral work "Ballad for Americans" was dropped from the Fourth of July program at the Washington Monument, after a protest that its composer [Earl Robinson] had taken the Fifth Amendment.

Instead of the ballad, the Marine Band played "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" and "This Is My Country."

Worcester **Daily Telegram**, 6/6

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: B. Sumner, Worcester, Mass.

It takes only a little imagination to envision the tourist ads:

TIRED OF THE SAME OLD QUIET, RESTFUL VACATIONS?

WANT A HOLIDAY WITH A BANG IN IT?

SEE! IN LUXURIOUS COMFORT! THE GREATEST SHOT ON EARTH!

LATEST A-BOMBS—DWARF THOSE DROPPED ON JAPAN!

15—DETONATIONS—15!

CLEANEST NUCLEAR BOMB IN THE WORLD

TANS BUT DOESN'T BURN

REKINDLE YOUR ROMANCE IN THE GLOW OF THE A-BOMB!

NEAR ALL CHURCHES, CEMETERIES.

**Ma Sugar**

### The siren song

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Just this morning I was listening to New York City's own radio station, WNYC. At the precise moment when a program of poetry came on the air, outside my window the shrill screaming of Civil Defense sirens began. Of course the poetry readings became totally inaudible. The sirens—always a hateful sound—sounded particularly ominous to me at that time. I wondered, when I finally could hear them, whether the weak, quaint voices of the poets could ever outcry that mad scream of the sirens.

**D. S.**

### Matsukawa Case

CHICAGO, ILL.

The General Council of Trade Unions of Japan, **Sohyo**, is urging people to take part in the campaign to save the lives of Makoto Suzuki and others accused in the "Matsukawa Case." These people are union men who were on strike in 1949 when a train accident occurred and they were accused of being responsible for the death of the people killed in the accident. **Sohyo** urges the following: (1) write to the prisoners, Makoto Suzuki and others accused in the Matsukawa Case, c/o Miyagi Detention Prison, 70-2, Gyoninzuka, Sendai-City, Japan; (2) send protest letters to the Supreme Court of Japan 1-1, Kasumigasoki, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo, and to the Japanese Embassy in Washington, D.C.; (3) financial help for the families of the prisoners to the "Families Society," Matsukawajiken Hikoku Kazokukai, 16 Motomachi, Fukushima-City, Japan. The English-language labor magazine, **Sohyo News**, asks "as wide publicity as possible on this case."

For more information write to the "Matsukawa Case Committee," c/o Bunkakogyo-Kaikan 7-12 Shinbashi, Shiba, Minato-ku, Tokyo, Japan. The Supreme Court of Japan is expected to decide next fall whether the union men will live or die.

**Ed Conners**

### The best for Belfrage

DUNDALK, MD.

In reading the Belfrage book, **The Frightened Giant**, I felt that I really came to know a truly grand gentleman—a heroic, crusading editor who deserves the best, who suffered for all people who really believe in the best traditions of the fight for democracy and freedom.

**James McParland**

### Juries without bias?

NEW YORK, N.Y.

How can we meet the objections of liberals who favor civil rights legislation but whose "consistency" compels their support for the jury trial amendment? In segregated communities jury trial for civil rights offenders would be farcical and would defeat the objectives of such legislation.

This amendment, conceived by "clever" segregationists, can effectively be countered by the addition of language such as this: "The right to a jury trial shall be guaranteed in all counties or districts where the Federal judge certifies that juries are selected without bias and where full voting and educational rights are respected."

The sense of this proposal might yet win some effective legislation in this session of Congress.

**Aaron Katz**

**ARTIST'S STOCK SOARS**

*Recently we sent a check to artist Fred Wright, one of America's keenest social satirists, for some drawings he did for the GUARDIAN. Where it said "Pay to the order of," he crossed out his own name, wrote in "National Guardian" and sent the check back with the sketch above on the back.*

### Joint resolution

ABERDEEN, WASH.

So far as I can remember the reactionaries have always had the better of the argument. It is, however, a long road which has no turning. I am of the opinion that the smooth and straight road of reaction could easily have been turned long ago; and can as easily be turned today.

All that is needed to accomplish this miracle is for all the radical and revolutionary splinters to get together on one thing and one thing only. That one thing is to form a national committee whose only purpose and function would be to agitate and organize sentiment for legislation implementing the Bill of Rights, making it a felony for any public servant to violate his oath of office or to attempt to subvert any of the provisions of the United States Constitution or its Amendments.

It is obvious that any official who would oppose such legislation could be rightfully branded a subversive.

**Anthony George**

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**REPORT TO READERS**

# The time is now

*(Continued from Page 1)*

man element:

Despite the strange language of communist polemic, in which yesterday's comrade becomes today's "cunning schemer," despite the lack of clear explanation of the internal meaning of the shifts, the statements surrounding them seem to support a point that has been stated time and again: the Soviet government wants peace and is determined to make any reasonable compromise to achieve peaceful coexistence in the world. It does not seem to base its policy on the liberation of the people of capitalist nations, nor on a desire to plod along and wait for capitalism to collapse in its contradictions. It seeks to deal with capitalist nations as an equal that is here to stay.

THE EVENTS IN THE U.S.S.R. COULD also indicate that the Soviet leaders may be aware of a stiff-necked quality in areas of their own policy. To mention two of the tenderest points:

• Hungary—a tragedy whose consequences are not yet by any means established. To regard the Hungarian tragedy simply as an attempt by the White Terror to reimpose fascist rule is to ignore years of repression by a regime that spoke in the name of socialism. The dilemmas that Hungary posed for the socialist world— and for humanity—cannot obscure the fact, as the Chinese have conceded, that vast injustices and mistakes were plain in Hungary before and after the October revolt. There are painful lessons to be drawn and absorbed, but only after the truth is faced.

• The Middle East—a tormented area where millions of Arabs barely survive in indescribable misery while their feudal rulers ride in Cadillacs to orgiastic feasts in air-conditioned palaces; where attempts are being made in Syria and in Egypt to establish a system of self-respecting neutral nations; where the state of Israel, not always pursuing the wisest course, seeks to provide a homeland and a life without abrupt end for thousands of Jews who fled hatred and the gas furnaces. In this part of the world a black-and-white imperialist interpretation of history is too simple.

It is a fact that the Soviet Union has made the most reasonable suggestions yet as a basis for negotiating a Middle East settlement—suggestions which have for the most part been put forward also by the progressive movement in Israel. Yet, by the same token, a hostile drumfire of propaganda from Moscow against Israel does not add a calming note for an insecure people, nor lay the groundwork for discussion. Nor is a lavish reception in Moscow for the Crown Prince of Yemen (his absolute monarch father beheads political dissidents in public squares) any less indecent than a welcome for King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia in Washington.

THE MODERN WORLD has become too complex for monolithic propaganda, and the most complicating factor in this complex world, now undergoing a great social revolution, is the people. Oddly enough, whatever system they are living under—capitalism, socialism, post-colonial emergings, feudalism—the people are more and more insisting on a voice in the decisions on which their survival depends.

In the fight for survival some people are less vocal than others, and the people of the United States today do not make up a resounding chorus. Observing the admirable campaign to save a few hundred lives on the highways this Fourth of July, one could not help being struck by a simple thought: a similar strenuous campaign to stop the testing of hydrogen bombs and to effect a disarmament treaty could save several hundred million lives.

Time, indeed, ladies and gentlemen—time for survival. Lift your voice! For the psychological moment has come in the world's history, as India's Prime Minister Nehru said this last weekend, when the friendly approach can break down the barriers between nations. If the psychological moment is allowed to pass in silence, and without action, the onus will be on us all.

**—THE GUARDIAN**

THE 'BEGINNING OF A CHANGE' NOTED

# How the foreign born fared in Supreme Court

By Abner Green

*Executive Secretary, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.*

THE OCTOBER 1956-June 1957 term of the Supreme Court, which concluded on June 24, reflected important advances in the Court's attitude to the rights of foreign-born Americans.

Between 1946 and 1956 a majority of the Court held consistently that Congress could enact any kind of legislation it desired in the field of deportation. As a result, the Court sustained the constitutionality of legislation authorizing denial of bail to non-citizens in deportation proceedings, the deportation of legal residents because of their political opinions or associations, indefinite detention without bail of immigrants ordered excluded.

More than 14,000,000 foreign-born—3,000,000 non-citizens and 11,000,000 naturalized citizens—were affected directly by these decisions. Also affected, even if only indirectly, were the 24,000,000 American-born children of immigrant parents.

**BEGINNING OF CHANGE:** The record of this past term of the Supreme Court reflects the beginning of a general change in attitude by a majority of the Court. The decisions in the cases of Antonia Sentner of St. Louis, and George Witkovich of Chicago, were most significant. These cases dealt with the treatment of non-citizens ordered deported but not deportable since there is no country that will accept them as deportees. The Court rejected the Justice Dept.'s position that it has a right to force deportees to discontinue political activities and associations for which they had been ordered deported.

This was undertaken by use of the law's supervisory parole provisions, which give the Attorney General power to: ". . . require any alien subject to supervision (1) to appear from time to time before an immigration officer for identification; (2) to submit, if necessary, to medical and psychiatric examination at the expense of the United States; (3) to

Justus in Minneapolis Star

**Out of the darkness**

give information under oath as to his nationality, circumstances, habits, associations, and activities, and such other information, whether or not related to the foregoing, as the Attorney General may deem fit and proper; and (4) to conform to such reasonable written restrictions on his conduct or activities as are prescribed by the Attorney General."

**LIMIT TO CONTROL:** The foregoing language still appears in the Walter-McCarran Law but the lower courts in the Witkovich and Sentner cases judged most of it unenforceable. In effect, they nullified its purpose and limited the Dept. of Justice's control over such deportees to keeping informed as to their availability for deportation in case some country might accept them.

The Supreme Court affirmed this interpretation when it was appealed by the government in the Witkovich and Sentner cases, thus whittling away the oppressive features of supervisory parole for some 300 individuals affected by it.

The decisions in the Witkovich and Sentner cases were a marked departure from the attitude previously displayed by the Supreme Court to the rights of non-citizens. In this respect, the Court's action in the case of Charles Rowoldt, of Minneapolis, is of some significance.

**THE ROWOLDT CASE:** Rowoldt, ordered deported for past membership in the Communist Party, had his appeal heard by the Supreme Court in October, 1956. In 1954, in the Galvan case, the Supreme Court sustained the constitutionality of this Walter-McCarran Law provision. In agreeing to hear the appeal in the Rowoldt case, the Court agreed to reconsider its decision in the Galvan case. On June 24, 1957, the Court ordered the Rowoldt case restored to the calendar for reargument later this year. It is clear that the 6 to 2 majority that prevailed in the Galvan case only two years ago no longer rules.

It must be recorded, however, that the Court has not as yet made any actual change in its attitude to the deportation of non-citizens. In a series of cases this past year, the Court has continued to ignore the rights and welfare of non-citizens in the U.S. The most serious display of this attitude was in the case of Bruno Carson, of Cleveland, who entered the U.S. as a stowaway in 1919 and was convicted in 1938 of two crimes involving "moral turpitude."

**THE CARSON CASE:** Under the law in effect before 1952, Carson could not be deported for illegal entry and, since he received a conditional pardon for one of his offenses, he could not be deported as a criminal. The 1952 Walter-McCarran Law made illegal entry at any time in the past a deportable offense and provided also that only an unconditional pardon could avoid deportation. On June 3, the Supreme Court reversed the Federal Court of Appeals and sustained Carson's deportation for illegal entry in 1919 and the criminal convictions. A great number of non-citizens similarly situated will be affected.

Because of the Carson decision Walter Baer, 59, of Seattle, now faces deportation for passing two bad checks totalling less than $100 in 1919 and 1921. The bad check charges came to light in 1936, when Baer, an engineer, came under attack by private power interests because of a system he devised to halt pollution of the Columbia River in Oregon. Although he claimed U.S. birth, Immigration officials got admissions from his father and other older relatives that he was born in Germany and brought here when one year old. Deportation proceedings were initiated in 1936 and he was actually on a boat leaving N.Y. harbor for Germany when a writ of habeas corpus was served on the captain by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

**A FINAL ORDER:** Eventually Baer won a pardon on the check offenses, conditioned on his continued good behavior, and the deportation proceedings were canceled in 1945. In 1954 the proceedings were reinstated after he refused to report annually as an alien under the 1952 Walter—McCarran Law and the bad-check charges reinstated also under the provision challenged in the Carson case.

On June 19 the Board of Immigration Appeals issued a final order of deportation based on the Carson decision which covered similar circumstances. ACPFB has obtained a stay of deportation, during which Baer will seek an unconditional pardon for the two offenses more than 35 years ago. If such a pardon is refused, the case will be taken through courts as a means of bringing about further Supreme Court consideration of the Walter-McCarran provision which recognizes only unconditional pardons as exculpation for "moral turpitude."

**A LOOK AHEAD:** Up to now the Supreme Court has failed to reconsider its general attitude to the rights of non-citizens in deportation proceedings, but it is highly possible that a change can be won in the next term. An important test in this respect will be the Court's decision in the Rowoldt case. The next term of the Supreme Court will have before it for consideration and decision also the case of Knut Heikkinen of Superior, Wis., sentenced to five years in jail for failure to apply for travel documents after being ordered deported; the case of Stella Brown of Detroit, sentenced to six months in jail for contempt of court because she refused to become an informer while a witness in her own denaturalization trial; and the cases of Stanley Nowak and Rebecca Maisenberg of Detroit, testing the constitutionality of the Walter-McCarran Law denaturalization provisions.

The next term of the Supreme Court may indeed be an historic session in helping to end the repression of the rights of foreign-born Americans under the Walter-McCarran Law. The rights of all Americans, native as well as foreign-born, would be enhanced by any change.

**CHIEF STRATEGIST FOR MAINTAINING THE CONFEDERACY**

*Sen. Richard Russell (D.-Ga.) is the general in charge of the Southern filibuster against the civil rights bill in the Senate. One gimmick he figured out was to call for a national referendum on the bill. Speaking of polls, how about asking ALL the eligible voters of Georgia how they feel about Sen. Russell? In his state only 30.4% of the people voted; only 25% of the eligible Negroes are registered. The civil rights bill passed the House 286 to 126 on June 18.*

TOUGH FIGHT STILL AHEAD

# Rights Fund aids many

DURING the year June 1, 1956, through May 31, 1957, the Bill of Rights Fund gave more than $30,000 in grants to over 30 important civil liberties cases, Dr. Corliss Lamont, chairman of the Fund has announced.

Raphael Konigsberg, a lawyer aided by the Fund, recently obtained a favorable decision in the U.S. Supreme Court. Mr. Konigsberg passed the California Bar Assn. examination and then was denied admission to the Bar because of his refusal, on constitutional grounds, to answer certain questions about political beliefs and affiliation with the Communist Party. In its opinion, the Supreme Court stated that past membership in the CP does not in itself constitute evidence of bad moral character that justified exclusion from the legal profession.

In his review of the Fund's grants, Dr. Lamont warned that although the civil liberties situation has improved, a long struggle looms for the complete maintenance of the Bill of Rights. He pointed out that the House Un-American Activities Committee and the Senate Internal Security Committee continue the witch-hunt.

**LIST OF GRANTS:** Other grants by the Bill of Rights Fund went to the contempt cases of Herman Liveright, William Price and Elliott Sullivan, all of whom refused to answer questions before a Congressional committee on the grounds of the First Amendment; to Mr and Mrs. Grady Jenkins of New Orleans who were indicted under two unconstitutional Louisiana anti-subversion laws; to the case of Leo Sheiner, Florida attorney who successfully fought disbarment proceedings for alleged communism; to the case of Howard Abramowitz, who is suing Secy. of War Brucker because he received an undesirable discharge for alleged activities prior to his induction into the Army; to the legal defense in the Powell-Schuman so-called sedition case in San Francisco; and to Hugo DeGregory in his test case of the New Hampshire Immunity Act.

Grants were also made to Abram Flaxer in his successful appeal to the Supreme Court from a contempt of Congress conviction for refusing to hand over to the Senate Internal Security Committee the names of 30,000 members of the United Public Workers; to the case of Bruce Dayton, which raises the question of the right of passport applicants to face those giving harmful information against them; and to the denaturalization-deportation case of Stella Brown, on appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court.

NATIONAL CAPITALISM A KEY GOAL

# Syrians want Arab unity and no foreign meddling

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent

DAMASCUS, SYRIA

"THE SWORD of Damocles hangs over Syria." This frequently-heard comment may seem out of character in the peaceful beauty of Damascus, whose surrounding olive green valleys, barren calcium hills and spring-clear river make it easy to believe the Garden of Eden was located in Western Asia. But it is accurate enough to describe Syria's front-line position in the fierce war being waged by the Western powers against the Arab liberation movement.

In its 12 years of independence, Syria has experienced five coups d'etat—some with liberating aims, others backed by foreign powers—and an unending series of foreign-inspired conspiracies which continue to this day. How has Syria managed to survive and grow under such attack? For its growth is undeniable.

Since last January, Syria has been governed by a National Front coalition: 16 Al Baath or Arab Socialist Resurrection Party (non-Marxist socialist) deputies, eight Al Tahrir or Liberation Party (center), four National Party (landlords, merchants, national bourgeoisie), one communist and a group of independents. The National Front took office after the rightist Al Shaab (People's Party) was ousted from the government when some of its leaders were charged last fall with plotting to overthrow the government and take Syria into the Baghdad Pact. It is dedicated to positive neutrality, Arab unity, federation with Egypt and, above all, to Syrian independence.

**A REAL PICTURE:** Ever since the National Front took office the Western press has pictured Syria in chaos, tottering on the brink of communism, bursting with Soviet advisers and missions, ruled dictatorially by a Soviet-controlled army. But in this "near-communist" nation:

- Parliament this spring rejected a proposed reform to tax the big feudal landlords who control 52% of the cultivable land and who now pay virtually no tax at all. The rejection was not surprising: some 40 out of 140 deputies are themselves feudal landlords, another 11 are Bedouin chiefs representing the tribes; many of the rest also own land to lesser degree.
- Employers associations are far more numerous than trade unions: hardly 10% of the 300,000 industrial and commercial workers are organized, and not even the most elementary trade union rights are guaranteed by law. Wages are low; the minimum is about 3 Syrian pounds per day (a little less than a dollar). Workers in Aleppo told me the average there was £5 a day but a kilo (2.2 lbs) of mutton cost £1½, of cheese, £2, of milk almost half a pound, and rent for one room at least £35 a month. Most people eat vegetables flavored with a bit of meat.
- Tenant farmers and farmhands who make up the bulk of the population have no organization at all and no laws to protect them.

Mittleberg in L'Humanite
**"We will not tolerate Jordanian interference with our sovereignty."**

- The press is "the most anti-communist in the world," some government officials assert. Half the newspapers belong to this category but most of them have few readers and are said to be financed by foreign embassies. "This helps our economy," one government official remarked, "and it does no harm since no one reads them." (The most widely read paper is the Communist daily **Al-Noor** (Spark) with a circulation of 15,000. The pro-Baath **Al Ray Al Am** has 8,000.)
- The government administration seems to be permeated with conservative civil servants, hold-overs from former regimes, who seem to constitute a brake on progress.
- Only 7% of Syria's trade (through the first quarter of 1957) was with the Eastern bloc, including Yugoslavia.

**HARD TO CLASSIFY:** But Syria cannot be classified by standard formulas. If it is not even remotely socialist, new ideas and approaches are making themselves felt. And there are many contradictions: I was unable to interview the leader of the reactionary imperialist-backed Moslem Brotherhood because he was on a cultural mission in Moscow. Dr. Marouf Dawalibi, leader of the Al Shaab party, currently maneuvering to bring down the National Front government and align Syria with the West, boasted to me that he was the first political leader to advocate "holding out our hand to the Soviet Union to get arms for our defense" (those who claim authorship of this policy are now legion). And Syria's biggest landlord and capitalist, Khaled El Adm, Minister of Defense, asked about the future development of the economy, replied:

"It is not a capitalist system we are building here but a system which will preserve capitalism. The state will develop new projects because individual capital is not available. When private capital can finance projects, of course the state will welcome this. But when it cannot, the state will provide the capital. It will be a system something like that of China where capitalism is being preserved, not expropriated."

**COMMUNIST POSITION:** El Adm's conception — superficially — appeared to differ little from that of Khaled Bakdash, Communist Party deputy, who said: "We must learn from China's experience. Capitalism in Syria is very weak. If we confiscated capital, we would have nothing. Conditions for the realization of socialism are not the same for us as for the developed countries of the West. For us, it is necessary to industrialize and to do so by strengthening private and state capitalism." At this stage the communists preclude even agrarian reform, although they seek some measures to alleviate the lot of farm laborers and industrial workers. But the main emphasis is on strengthening national as against foreign capitalism.

The national rally against imperialism is the central fact of Syrian life today. The popular friendship for China and the Soviet Union is one aspect. The forthright Minister of Foreign Affairs, Selah Betar, a founder of the Baath party, said:

"We classify our enemies and friends not according to social regimes but according to the degree of friendship accorded to us and to our ultimate aim which is Arab unity. Those with ill-will toward us accuse us of being communists because we mingle with the Soviet Union. But we have no other way to show our friendship to the U.S.S.R., which does not oppose Arab unity and which wants to maintain and strengthen the independence of Arab countries."

**THE ARMY'S ROLE:** A journalist in Aleppo estimated that sympathy for the U.S.S.R. had multiplied 100 times since Suez. The manager of the Middle East's most modern glass factory (also a well-known novelist) told me: "Your press says we are going communist. But, speaking for myself and the workers here, we are not going communist fast enough, as fast, that is, as we should, considering how your policy is pushing us toward it. A socialist Arab nation might be a fine thing. But if you continue your present policy it will be not socialist but communist."

It is the national political consciousness of the people and, above all, in the Army, which has enabled Syria to stand firm in its neutralist policy. Efforts to corrupt the Syrian army, as the Jordan army was corrupted, are still being made, according to the Defense Minister. But "the foreign agents with their bribes have been sent packing."

Army Chief of Staff Gen. Toufik Nizain ed Dine categorically denied reports of Army interference in the political life of the country. He said: "Syria is a democratic country, the most democratic in the Middle East. The Army has no political role and its officers are forbidden to be involved in political parties. Total Soviet bloc advisers number between 20 and 30."

Syria's young conscript army, with the backing of public opinion, seems thus far to have been successful in blocking any attempt to pull off another "Jordan" in Syria.

Herblock in Washington Post
**"I'm painting the clouds with sunshine."**

## Soviet shakeup

(Continued from Page 1)

ber of the Presidium. The following day the other three were removed from their deputy premierships and ministerial positions. Moscow denied reports that they were under house arrest.

Of the former 11 members of the party Presidium, only six remained: Nikita Khrushchev, Nikolai Bulganin, Klementi Voroshilov, Anastas Mikoyan, Mikhail Suslov and Alexei Kirichenko. Marshal Zhukov, Mme. Ekaterina Furtseva, Leonid Brezhnev, Frol Kozlov and Nikolai Shvernik—former alternate members—were raised to full membership. Four new regular members were added to the Presidium, raising the total to 15.

**COMMENT ABROAD:** Reaction abroad to the shakeup varied. The British government briefly said that Khrushchev, his prestige enhanced, will continue his policies "with even greater vigor and authority." French reaction was said to be "cautious, confused." Bonn's Chancellor Adenauer found in the events in Moscow confirmation of his belief (N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, 7/7) that unrelenting Western pressure "accentuates existing difficulties within Russia." He hoped that this pressure would be kept up "until the Kremlin negotiates a settlement [of German unification] on Western terms." However, the Italian government was reported by the **Herald Tribune** to be doubtful about any "crisis of the Soviet regime," feeling that "a regime under the leadership of Mr. Khrushchev that safely outlasted the uprisings in East Germany, Poland and Hungary, is not one that is weak."

**RETURN TO NORMALITY?** The Chinese CP Central Committee said that the ouster of the four Soviet leaders will "further the unity" of the Soviet CP and strengthen the Peking-Moscow alliance's struggle "for lasting world peace and for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism." Closer Peking-Moscow cooperation was foreseen after Chinese leader Mao Tse-tung's forthcoming visit to the U.S.S.R. Indian Prime Minister Nehru described the Soviet changes as a return to normality from a long revolutionary period—a process he thought had been going on in the Soviet Union for some years.

Minneapolis Star
**The American Ostrich**

Reaction in Eastern Europe was positive. The dismissal on July 4 of two old-guard members of the Rumanian CP's Politburo was attributed to the upheaval in Moscow.

Alexander Rankovic, a Yugoslav Vice President, said the Moscow events represented "a victory of those forces that are struggling for the maintenance of peace [and] cooperation among peoples and countries and for strengthening of socialism in the world."

"This is a success whose importance transcends the frontiers of the Soviet Union," said the Warsaw newspaper **Zycie Warszawy**. And the Polish CP organ **Trybuna Ludu** saw in "the decision of the Soviet party . . . the victory of living, creative Marxism-Leninism."

**WASHINGTON REACTION:** There was no comment from President Eisenhower; he was on a long golfing week-end. Secy. of State Dulles was at his retreat on Duck Island. Other officials, James Reston reported (N. Y. **Times**, 7/5), were divided in their reaction: some believed the "tough" U. S. policy towards Moscow should be maintained; others looked on the news "as an invitation to a more hopeful period of negotiation with the strengthened Khrushchev." The U. S. State Dept. centered its interest on Czechoslovakia, where Khrushchev and Bulganin began a visit on July 8.

Generally speaking, "official Washington," as Reston said (**Times**, 7/4), "tried hard to conceal its pleasure . . . but didn't quite succeed." The pleasure came from the general belief in the capital that the changes in Moscow represented an accentuation of the internal "stresses and strains" from which the Soviet Union would one day collapse.

**STRENGTH OR WEAKNESS?** But to Washington correspondent Robert J. Donovan (**Herald Tribune**, 7/5), "the changes are not necessarily new signs of Soviet weakness. They may be just the opposite." Events within the Soviet Union seemed to justify Donovan's feeling; Khrushchev, Bulganin and their supporters seemed to be leading from strength.

While the full significance of the ouster of the four top leaders—which was followed by the removal of former economic planners Pervukhin and Saburov from deputy premiership—remained unclear:

(Continued on Page 5)

### J. Edgar's America

"It is implicit that people in this country participate in law enforcement by informing and appearing as witnesses."

Edward L. Boyle, FBI Chief in El Paso, speaking to a Rotary Club Father-Son luncheon.

—El Paso **Times**, 6/28.

FROM IRKUTSK OVER SIBERIA TO MOSCOW

# *Way stations to the Savoy*

By Wilfred Burchett
Special to the Guardian
*(Second of a series)*

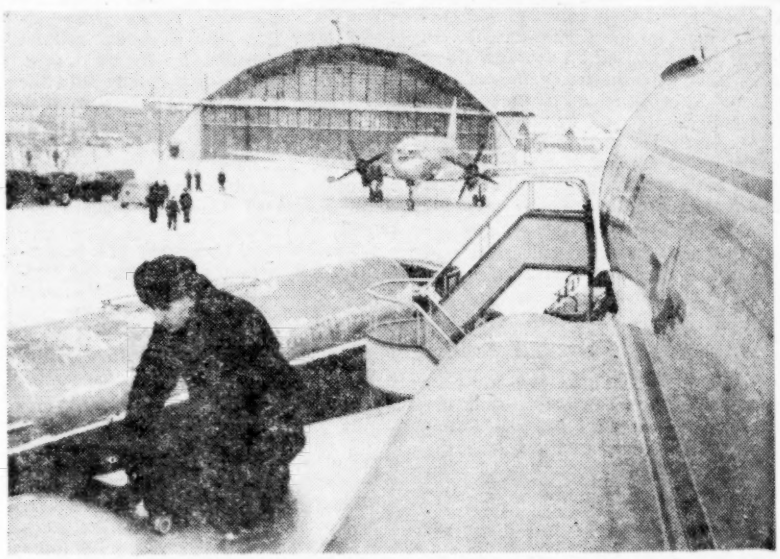
MOSCOW, U.S.S.R.

THE QUICK, STARTLED GLANCE, the shocked question: "Is **this** your passport?" is no longer a novelty for me. It is a strange document, printed only in Vietnamese, and it baffles most passport officers. As far as I know it is a "laissez-passer in lieu of passport." It carries a photograph and a physical description of me but does not request that the bearer be afforded all facilities, etc. Its main virtue and increasing worth is that inside it are stamped the visas of some 13 countries which—irrespective of "curtains"—have accepted it as a travel document. It became necessary when my original passport was stolen and the Australian government refused to issue me a new one.

In Irkutsk, the entry point into the Soviet Union, it was accepted. I was not asked if I had ever been a capitalist or if I believed in the violent overthrow of socialist governments. Formalities for all passengers—and we were a fairly mixed bag—were very simple. When I first passed through the Soviet Union three years ago en route to the Geneva conference, there was a formidable multi-paged customs declaration to fill out; deer horns and certain exotic plants were among the items necessary to declare. This time it was a tiny form concerned only with currency, firearms and radio equipment. Not one passenger's bag was opened.

**SAFE AND COZY:** Weather across Siberia is treacherous. Formalities were completed in about 10 minutes and our new plane was waiting but we could not leave. To Irkutsk we had travelled in a Chinese airways plane—by chance the same in which we had left Hanoi. From Irkutsk we would travel in a Soviet Aeroflot. But there was a storm somewhere along the route and we would have to stay eight hours. Since there is no useless competition to push air service to fly faster than safety warrants, every airport on the trans-Siberian route has a hotel attached to it. Rooms are scrupulously clean and comfortable. If there is a storm, as there frequently is, the plane does not fly and the passengers go to sleep. In winter the lay-over may last for days. Passengers are housed and fed at the expense of Aeroflot.

We were envious when, after a couple of hours, a TU-104, that aristocrat of the air, swept in with a sweet, piping whistle from Vladivostock. It took off with a shuddering roar an hour later for Moscow, able to cruise at between 550 and 600 miles an hour at a height well above storms. We took off at almost midnight into a clear starlit sky and an unforgettable glimpse of an early moon reflected in the silver purity of Lake Baikal. Krasnoyarsk, Novo-Sibirsk, Omsk, Sverdlovsk, Kazan, with about three hours between each stop and clear weather all the way. At every stop there was the choice of four four-course meals (including caviar) in the Intourist hotels. Before we got to Omsk it was daylight. But it was dreary scenery from the air. Nothing to compare with the train journey for a full week through the magnificent birch-and-pine forests of Siberia.



**A MECHANIC REFUELS A SOVIET TU-104 JET AIRLINER AT IRKUTSK AIRPORT**
*The jet cruises at 600 mph, flies above weather that grounds ordinary craft.*

**SVERDLOVSK SUNSHINE:** From the air it looked a semi-frozen waste. Here and there were enormous slashes of cultivation—a reminder that pioneer farmers with tractor battalions had been attacking the virgin lands in the tundra for the past couple of years. We flew for about 15 hours due west over Siberia from Irkutsk.

At Sverdlovsk we stepped out of the plane into warm sunshine; the airfield was surrounded with smiling green fields and orchards. In the distance lay the powder-blue Urals and Europe. At Sverdlovsk one leaves Siberia—and Asia—behind. The air was different. The heavy languor of the tropics was far away but gone also was the chilling bite of Siberia. There was a sun one could enjoy, striking deep to warm blood and marrow—a sparkling air which felt good in the lungs.

There was tremendous activity at all the airports, covered with freight and passenger planes. At Sverdlovsk I counted over 70 Ilyushins similar to the one we were flying in. At Omsk there were at least as many, plus a few TU-104s. Planes landed and took off from the fields where we stopped every two or three minutes. And our flight took us across the least populated part of the Soviet Union.

**ANOTHER WORLD:** The last leg of our flight, from Kazan to Moscow, was across orderly green fields surrounded by timber hedges. It was a different world from that which lay east of the Urals. At Moscow airport we put our watches back five hours to make up for the rate at which we had been overtaking the sun since Irkutsk.

Moscow was in the throes of an early heat wave and as we drove the 20 miles from the airport to the Savoy Hotel, where the Intourist travel organization had booked rooms for us, it recalled Hanoi. But the beautiful European woods which line the road, and cows knee-deep in grass and wildflowers, emphasized the difference.

**MOSCOW SKY-LINE:** A six-lane highway runs from the airport. The first sight of Moscow is the new University skyscraper about four miles from the city, the biggest of a dozen skyscrapers. Without taking sides in the dispute for or against skyscrapers in general, at least one can see the Moscow variety. The University is set back among spacious gardens and, as with the other skyscrapers, the eye can take in the whole. From the University the road leads through a forest of cranes, perched in lines over half-finished buildings like huge skinny-legged swamp birds, pecking at a ton of bricks at a time, at steel and concrete girders. There is a vast housing construction project going on outside the city for all the four miles leading in from the University.

Traffic moves swiftly through Moscow's broad main streets. Signal lights are so regulated that if the driver maintains 45 miles an hour, he can drive right through without a halt. Thus we sped over the Moscow River, past the Kremlin and Red Square to the Savoy, a pre-revolutionary hotel in the center of the city.

**CHILDREN'S WORLD:** From a financial point of view, Moscow has become a much more attractive place in which to live since I visited a year ago. Most western currency is worth two and a half times as much. To move our family of four, with a minor mountain of baggage 20 miles from the airport to our hotel in a first class taxi, cost the equivalent of $6. A double room with private bathroom costs $3.20 per day. That is the actual charge; there are no extras for services and so on, which often add another 25% to hotel charges in Western Europe. Telephone calls within the city are free.

This is all at the new rate of 10 rubles to the dollar, which applies to anyone living in Moscow who has his money sent in from abroad. The official rate still remains at four to the dollar if you are trading. Apparently if you are buying steel plants or bridges this is a satisfactory rate and very competitive with Western currencies.

Our two little boys, a four-year-old born in Peking and a two-year-old born in Hanoi, were immediately satisfied with the move to Moscow. The windows of their hotel were filled with the shapes of cranes putting the finishing touches to a new building across the street. The view was clearly more satisfactory than the jungle and ricefields of Vietnam. Appropriately enough the name of the new building was "Children's World," opened a couple of weeks after our arrival as the biggest children's department store in Europe.

**NEXT WEEK: Life in Moscow.**

### Calculated risk

MUCH is heard of the risk that our grandchildren may be born deformed and imbecile as a result of test explosions. Nothing is said of the far greater risk that those same grandchildren would almost certainly be born little Communists if it were not for the bomb and our testing of it. For my unborn grandchildren I know which risk I'd take.

Letter in London **News-Chronicle**

## Soviet shakeup

*(Continued from Page 4)*

the events were no completely unanticipated.

Differences between Khrushchev and Molotov had been aired before. It was no secret that Molotov strongly opposed Khrushchev's policy of reconciliation with Marshal Tito and his theory of "many roads to socialism." Last May 7 Khrushchev criticized Molotov's Ministry of State Control for "serious shortcomings." To an oldtime Bolshevik like Molotov, the free-wheeling Khrushchev could very possibly have seemed to be diluting socialist theory.

**POPULAR MEASURES:** Malenkov was said to have opposed massive aid to China, advocating instead greater concentration on providing goods to Soviet citizens, even if that meant retarding China's economic progress. With the sharpening of these and other differences as the decisions of the 20th Soviet CP Congress were put into effect, a showdown was obviously in the wind. Indeed, last Nov. 11, Marshal Tito, in a speech at Pula, said an internal struggle was going on in the Soviet Union, and predicted that the Khrushchev forces would win out.

While the struggle within the Central Committee seemed to have been quite bitter, Khrushchev's victory undoubtedly was facilitated by his association with a number of popular measures. The greater rights extended to workers, the swifter delivery of machinery and fertilizers to the collective farms, the willingness to send Soviet farm delegations to the U.S. and Canada and other countries to learn improved methods, the extension of economic and cultural and legislative rights to the many republics and the successful cultivation of the friendship of neutralist countries—all these measures obviously enhanced the popularity of Khrushchev, Bulganin and their supporters.

**THE VIRGIN LANDS:** Even in defense measures, the Soviet Union not only succeeded in developing its own nuclear bombs but was reported by Joseph Alsop (**Herald Tribune**, 7/5) to have successfully tested its "first experimental version of a very long-range, multi-stage ballistic missile."

In short, the average Soviet citizen was not only "eating better than at any time in the last forty years" (**Reuters**, 4/30), but he felt better protected from any possible outside attack.

Most recently, Khrushchev's much-criticized plan to increase agricultural products by settling virgin lands turned out to be a resounding success; and his prediction that the Soviet Union would soon be producing as much meat and dairy products per capita as the U. S. was reported to have "fired the imagination" of Soviet farmers. (**Times**, 6/10).

**WHAT'S AHEAD?:** The duration of the Central Committee debate and the comparatively moderate language in which the resolution was couched seemed to indicate a departure from the methods of Stalin's day. In the days that followed, however, the whole propaganda apparatus of the Soviet regime was set to work to support the decision of the Central Committee and serious accusations were made against Malenkov, Molotov and Kaganovich, linking them to the purges of the Stalin era, in which many Soviet leaders were unjustly prosecuted and put to death or imprisoned. Whether the stage was being set for prosecution of the ousted leaders was not clear.

In any case, in the very course of the accusations leveled against the ousted men, a program began to emerge which the new Presidium evidently planned to push. Generally characterized as the decisions of the 20th Congress, the program called for peaceful coexistence, an all-out competition with the advanced capitalist countries in developing an economy of abundance, more imaginative socialist initiative and planning for this abundance, closer cooperation with other socialist countries on a basis of equality, and greater Soviet initiative in international affairs to promote peace.

## Rockwell Kent heads American-Soviet Council

ROCKWELL KENT, artist and author, has been elected chairman of the Natl. Council of American-Soviet Friendship. This was made known at a testimonial dinner in New York under the organization's auspices celebrating the artist's 75th birthday last month. Kent succeeds Dr. John A. Kingsbury who died last August. Other chairmen of this organization, established in 1943, have been the Rev. William Howard Melish and Dr. Corliss Lamont.

REPORT ON THE MINISTERS' CONFERENCE IN LONDON

# The Commonwealth: 'A loveless marriage'

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

OUTSIDE THE HOUSE from which Britain's imperial rule has for generations been directed, Downing Street was gay with flags for the Commonwealth Conference at "Number Ten." Four of the flags represented Asian and African peoples who have fought successfully for independence. They remind Britons of a fact still hard for them to grasp: that with the Nigerian, West Indian and Malayan colonies now beating on the door, the Commonwealth "club" will soon lose its white majority. Despite continuing Tory efforts to prolong colonial rule by force and the promotion of internal strife, this outcome has been accepted as inevitable.

On the eve of the conference Tory Lord Hailsham called for a radical change in British thinking to avoid a "grim future" for the club, which some describe as "a chain of moonbeams" and "a loveless marriage." Participating Commonwealth leaders have been received in a graciously fraternal atmosphere by the Queen, the club's nominal head and symbolic link; but the press cannot conceal the many contradictions between individual members and between them and the "motherland." The most acute headaches are: (1) economic — mainly the poorer (non-white) members' need for development capital from the richer (white) ones and (2) "strategic."

**SUEZ—AND AFTER:** Prime Minister Macmillan faced the problem of selling Britain's "free world" defense plans to the non-white governments which, with the exception of Pakistan, a Baghdad Pact member, have strong neutralist tendencies. His first task was to bury Britain's skeleton in the cupboard, last year's Suez aggression which—not even white members having been consulted—threatened to blow up the Commonwealth. In this he proved himself an "adroitly soapy undertaker" (**Manchester Guardian**), and Nehru of India expressed the fervent but uneasy hope that it wouldn't happen again. Nehru added that the Baghdad Pact was still a cause of tension in the Middle East, and there the subject seems to have been dropped.

On Britain's new "defense" strategy linked to the H-bomb, Macmillan stressed "Soviet influences and intentions" in the Middle and Far East to justify "nuclearizing" Singapore and other far-flung bases and creating a major bomb and troop base in Kenya.

The London **Times** had correctly predicted that the manufacture and use of A- and H-bombs would "cast a persistent shadow and challenge over the conference room." India and Ceylon, agreeing with Labourite Aneurin Bevan's denunciation of the H-bomb as "essentially the weapon of dictatorship," renewed pressure to ban it and end tests as the only protection for democracy. "White" South Africa was delighted with the Kenya base plan for the same reason that non-white members were alarmed —because it would bring Britain more deeply into the business of suppressing Africans and Asians.

**CAPETOWN TO KENYA:** Further coordination of British-S. African "defense" plans is indicated in a scheme for a 3,500-mile strategic highway from Capetown to Nairobi, Kenya. For Kenya itself, the imposition of such a base promises indefinite perpetuation of colonial status, in addition to the annihilation of its un-consulted people in any war.

Similarly the non-white members objected to "nuclearizing" Singapore at the front door of Malaya, whose "independence" later this year is conditioned on indefinite occupation by British troops. White Australia pressed equally hard for assurances that the plan would go through. The **Manchester Guardian** favored reduction of Western bases in the Far East but noted that "freedom for maneuver is limited" in view of British commitments to America's global "defense."

On problems of Commonwealth investment from Britain's Suez-depleted exchequer, the discussion was "negative," as the **Financial Times** predicted; but more concrete talks may be held next spring. These talks may be in Canada, a British Dominion likely to increase its economic dependence on the U.S. despite its new government's pleas for more Commonwealth trade. Of the other white governments—all dissatisfied with Britain's shrinking capacity to buy their goods or provide capital—S. Africa in particular is moving away from the sterling area due to its big dollar surpluses from the sale of gold.

**THEY WANT IT SLOW:** For the underdeveloped Commonwealth members the need for capital is pressing, but the conference indicated less rather than more likelihood of their getting it from London. British capitalism, whose milking of India, Ceylon and Ghana as colonies is responsible for their backwardness in independence, cannot afford to set up industrial competitors. It cannot even afford to let Ghana, Malaya and Nigeria spend freely the huge sterling credits they have piled up here. Furthermore, as the **Observer** blandly suggests with regard to investment in Ghana, "too much money too quickly could violently disrupt the social life of its people and provide the ideal breeding ground for Communism."

Yet, in Bevan's words (**Tribune**, June 28), "an industrial and technical revolution carried out by private enterprise" in such countries "would produce a host of quite insoluble problems . . . Even if they wished it, the road of traditional capitalism is not open to them." If British financial policy does not take this into account, Bevan wrote, "the Commonwealth will disintegrate."

**GREEN AND GOLD:** The personal star of the conference was Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah, whose picture wearing his green-and-gold African toga is in every paper. As the first black man ever to sit down among equals in Number Ten, he symbolizes the new era in the Commonwealth which many dislike but all must face as a reality. An extraordinary turnout of 350 correspondents from the world's press greeted him at a formal lunch, where he stressed that Ghana must and would find "an African way of doing things." Meanwhile he wanted "to watch how the Commonwealth works before saying what I think of it." His main concern is to get capital for the great Volta River development project, and if neither Britain nor the U.S. will provide it he seems quite ready to look elsewhere.

London Daily Herald

**"But Mamma, why can't I explode my H-bomb in the garden? Selwyn Lloyd says they will not hurt the human race!"**

Basic Commonwealth contradictions are highlighted by pictures of Nkrumah with the "white supremacy" exponents Louw of S. Africa and Welensky of the Rhodesia & Nyasaland Federation. Welensky said here that giving democracy to Africans would be "a sell-out to irresponsibility," and added that "far too much of the money available in the Commonwealth is being spent on social services."

Nyasaland African leaders sent a protest to the conference against their country's forcible inclusion in the Federation, denying that Welensky had any mandate from the people. The white-dominated Federation is not yet entitled to full club membership, but the Tories are anxious to bring in this second "white supremacy" African member before the next British elections.

**NEHRU PLAYED DOWN:** Deliberately played down in press publicity is Nehru and his leading position in the world movement for neutrality and peace. On his way here, he was welcomed as a popular hero in Scandinavia where he mingled with the people and spoke everywhere about the "five principles of coexistence." In London this was suppressed. Following last year's "B and K" pattern, he is being kept from the people as much as possible.

Here as elsewhere, Nehru is taking a moderate line on all inflammable issues. On the U.S.S.R., he was reported as urging "encouragement" of tendencies there to "ease the iron curtain." For India he seeks primarily to promote and finance the five-year plan, of which, he finds, most Britons have hardly even heard.

On one issue, there was hardly any difference of opinion among the Commonwealth Prime Ministers: they all agreed — some rather reluctantly — that the Chinese People's Republic was here to stay, and that Peking must be included in any disarmament agreement.

**NEWEST COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTER IS GHANA'S KWAME NKRUMAH**
*He is warmly greeted as he arrives in London for his first conference.*

# High Court bill

*(Continued from Page 1)*

decision is "only one in a whole series of bills that may have to be introduced to counteract the ill-advised excursion the Court is taking outside of its customary field."

Congressional firebrands were being spurred by right-wing newspapers like the N. Y. **Daily News** which charged editorially on July 4 that "appallingly, the most effective inside-U.S.A. help now being given this [communist] conspiracy comes from our own Supreme Court. . . . In a long string of decisions, this tribunal, with Earl Warren as Chief Justice, has given aid and comfort to the communist enemy. . . . We are profoundly convinced that now is the time for Congress to look into every suggestion for forcing the Court to stop tampering with essential American rights and liberties."

**SERVICE IS RESTORED:** Meanwhile there were more repercussions from the Court's rulings. On July 3 Federal Judge James W. Morris in Washington ordered the State Dept. to restore John Stewart Service to the same status he held as a career foreign officer when he was dismissed by Secy. of State Dean Acheson in 1951. Service, who was cleared by a grand jury in 1945 and six times thereafter by State Dept. loyalty boards, was fired by Acheson in a manner which the Court held violated his Department's own regulations.

Judge Morris directed that all evidence of "the invalid action of the Secy. of State" be expunged from the Department's records and that Service be restored with "the benefit of all rights, emoluments and privileges flowing from a continuity of service."

**GUNS ON THE UNION:** Although another Supreme Court decision put limits on Congressional investigating committees, the Senate Internal Security subcommittee was going ahead with its scatter-gun probe of trade unionists.

On July 3 the subcommittee questioned three Chicago organizers for the United Auto Workers. Sen. Roman L. Hruska (R.-Neb.), conducting the probe, expressed the hope that he was meeting Supreme Court standards by citing the subcommittee's authority and stating the purpose and need of an investigation of "communism" in the UAW. But the three witnesses, who admitted their own past communist connections, cited the Supreme Court decision in the Watkins case and invoked the First Amendment in refusing to name any of their past associates.

Drawing by Gabriel, London

**"Why do they charge him with Contempt of the Un-American Committee? Don't we all feel the same?**

Sen. Hruska, in recognition of the Watkins ruling, said: "The subcommittee has no desire to expose the private affairs of individuals without justification. . . . But we have a job to do. We have the defense, the safety, and the well-being of our country and its citizens to protect. We can do so only by enacting proper and effective laws toward that end."

## How's that again?

"I'VE KILLED no men who didn't deserve to be killed by the standards of our way of life."

Mickey Cohen on the Mike Wallace Interview TV program, 5/19

# CALENDAR

## Chicago

**AMERICAN SOCIALIST CLUB ANNUAL PICNIC** Sun., July 28th in Jackson Park, 60th near Stoney, 12 till——, Food, Refreshments, Games. Everybody Welcome.

## Detroit

**THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RECENT SUPREME COURT DECISIONS ON AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES** will be the subject of a talk by **ERNEST GOODMAN,** prominent attorney, Tuesday, July 23 at 8 p.m. at Hotel Tuller, Parlor D (air conditioned). Auspices: Liberties Appeal Committee for Michigan Smith Act Defendants.

## New York

**MAINSTREAM STARLIGHT FORUM**
8:30 p.m.
**SUNDAY, JULY 14**
**HERBERT APTHEKER** will discuss his new book
"The Truth About Hungary"
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## FLYNN AND THOMPSON

# Rally will greet freed CP leaders

ELIZABETH Gurley Flynn and Robert Thompson, Communist leaders recently released from prison, will be greeted at a rally at Carnegie Hall in New York on Wednesday, July 24, at 8 p.m.

Miss Flynn in May completed a three-year sentence under the Smith Act. Thompson, who was serving a seven-year term under the Smith Act and for contempt of court, was freed in bail last month pending disposition of a similar case in the Supreme Court. He served nearly four years in Atlanta.

Others who have completed their Smith Act sentences and who will be greeted at the rally are: Alexander Bittelman, V. J. Jerome, Arnold Johnson, Pettis Perry and Louis Weinstock. The speakers will comment on the recent civil liberties decisions of the Supreme Court.

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## 'Coffin nails'

THE BIG 3 have finally agreed on an issue affecting millions of people. The British Medical Council has just published a report confirming what American and Russian researchers have said, that there is a cause-effect relationship between cigarette smoking and lung cancer. In addition, there is some evidence linking smoking with heart and digestive ailments.

When evidence from both sides of the Carcinoma Curtain concurs so thoroughly, it is hard for any smoker not to take note. The truth is that regardless of your physical condition at the moment, most doctors will tell you to stop smoking.

BUT HOW to get rid of the weed habit? There's the rub. If you're a pack-a-dayer and have tried to stop, you know the problem. There seems to be no easy way and none of the scientists have come up with real aids.

They agree that tapering off doesn't work—you're back on full ration at the first tense moment. The only way to stop, they say, is to throw away your pack of "coffin nails" and never smoke again.

THE BOOKS on the subject offer this kind of advice: Start to break the habit during vacations, when tension is low. Tell yourself you don't really enjoy smoking. Remember how foul your mouth feels in the morning. Remember your hacking cough. We tried that and it nearly worked—until we lit a cigarette to remember how bad it tasted.

One doctor we know (don't get up, he's only a Ph.D) offers this bit: The best way to stop smoking is to carry wet matches. Jokes aside, if you're a reformed smoker, we would like to know how you did it so we can pass along the information.

BET YOU WERE wondering how we were going to get around to vitamins. Here's the commercial: Many people who stop smoking find an enormously increased appetite. They munch sweets through the day and continue the unbalanced diet when they get home. They eat too much and too many of the wrong foods. While they gain weight, their bodies are actually starved for certain nutrients.

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1,000 DELEGATES MEET IN DETROIT

# 'Free by '63' slogan keys NAACP convention

By Eugene Gordon

THE NAACP in its 1953 annual convention said that year would be looked back on "as the beginning of the end" of an inferior citizenship status for U. S. Negroes. The slogan "Ninety years plus 10 equals freedom" voiced the determination of the delegates to abolish all legal barriers to full citizenship by the end of the hundred years dating from President Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation of Jan. 1, 1863. Last week in Detroit that slogan was streamlined to "Free by '63!" The occasion was the NAACP's 48th annual convention, with 1,000 delegates present from Alaska to Florida, from Massachusetts to Southern California.

The convention passed resolutions

- Pledging unrelenting pressure on Southern election officials to qualify potential Negro voters.
- Approving a program of continuous fighting, on all levels of government, for civil rights legislation.
- Approving a program to help young Negroes qualify for jobs in industry as jimcrow receded and the U.S. entered the age of automation.
- Supporting an unceasing campaign to eradicate segregation from public schools "and from American life."
- Reiterating a demand for an open occupancy policy in private as well as publicly-aided housing.
- Calling on President Eisenhower to speak out "and continuously use your influence to safeguard the right of the NAACP, as an organization, to operate to bring about first-class citizenship for all citizens of the U.S. by any and all legal means at its disposal."

**A MEDAL TO KING:** The President sent "congratulations and best wishes for a memorable convention." AFL-CIO head George Meany wired: "We stand with you in the struggle to uphold the constitutional rulings of the U.S. Supreme Court against unlawful segregation in public schools and other public facilities." He promised "to continue to press for enactment of effective civil rights legislation until a proper civil rights act is the law of the land."

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was awarded the Spingarn Medal for "giving voice to the voiceless, courage to the fearful and strength to the weak." In reply he said:

"It will mean suffering and sacrifice. It might mean, even, going to jail. But I am convinced that if the Negro isn't ready to go to jail in the cause of freedom, then he's not ready to be free.

"Wherever we find segregation we must have the fortitude passively to resist. It must be stressed that passive resistance does not mean cowardice or stagnant passivity; that it means the resister is not physically aggressive toward his opponent, not seeking to defeat or humiliate him but to win his friendship and understanding; that it seeks to defeat the system of evil rather than the persons who happen to be caught up in the system."

**THE BALLOT:** The recurring theme in the speeches and in daily workshop conferences was that the Southern Negro would improve his status through the ballot. Delegates at twice-daily regional meetings on politics and civil rights were briefed on the situation in every section of the U.S. Clarence Mitchell of the NAACP Washington bureau advised each Capitol visitor to "know what you're talking about" when he called on his Congressman; to impress him that "those folks back home have their eyes on him."

Detroit's Negro Rep. Diggs remarked that one of the Republicans' "most persistent arguments" in the 1956 campaign—"that a vote for a Democrat is a vote for Eastland"—ought to be a warning to the Democratic party. Diggs added: "And I speak as a Democrat." He cited police brutality, economic reprisals, disfranchisement and physical intimidation as causing "an intensely passionate feeling that could be fanned into a fire threatening racial harmony in every corner of this country."

**REUTHER SPEAKS:** Detroit NAACP exec. secy. Arthur L. Johnson criticized Mayor Cobo for "a direct snub" in not personally welcoming the convention. Common [City] Council Pres. Miriani said the mayor was in New York "signing bonds."

United Auto Workers president Walter Reuther told the delegates:

"On my recent tour of North Africa and Asia I talked with a group of people in a hamlet near the Himalayas. They weren't interested in how many cars were sold by General Motors last year or whether the Chrysler has a longer wing sweep than the Cadillac. They asked me about Montgomery, Ala."

Some 150 representatives of Indian, Japanese, Korean and Thai youth were in the audience as NAACP board chairman Channing Tobias said:

"We need to know why certain people cling so tenaciously to the old way; why they place such exaggerated value on so superficial a quality as skin color; why they persist in looking backward to a day which cannot return without total disaster to the nation. It is gratifying to note that our friends from Asia are applauding our efforts, for it is evident that they and their peoples look upon this as a world crisis."

**"BARRATRY" CHARGES:** NAACP general counsel Robert L. Carter said that 75 lawyers attending from 21 states had "expressed determination to continue efforts to secure implementation" of the Supreme Court rulings. He said "barratry" charges had been brought against the association in Alabama, Louisiana and Texas. Barratry, the instigating of law suits for personal gain, had been redefined, Carter said, so as to prevent any organization or person not directly involved from entering litigation.

American Jewish Congress vice president Shad Polier aligned the AJC with the NAACP in a common fight against racism. He said: "Not a single responsible Jewish organization defends the institution of discrimination and virtually all have spoken out against it."